1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the household arranges for a son who is still a child to
565 marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*.
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou.*

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

Mo 597 606 583 /125 cont'd/ name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ancestors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

Mo [597 858]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

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Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 [302 554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

848 [847] Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called manê kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'an are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married ons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-heng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 588 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses [428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 792 178 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 588 593 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

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574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[67] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

/155 cont'd/
606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
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574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

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766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

[775] [776]

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

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[648 cont.]
766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama [212] is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the deceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bãda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
[765] from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
[171] being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign [302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a [588] girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgĕre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieṅgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually 554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the M 58 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon- 562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an- [769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered [171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live- stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con- M 584 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen 583 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage 582 age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab- N *563 solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob- M 614 served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage 582 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the 565 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re- garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a M 582 sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage M 588 to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri- lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being M 604 part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence